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AMEMBASSY KIGALI

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 03 LUSAKA 003470

E.O. 12356:DECL: 22 MAY 2000
TAGS: RW, BY, MARR, MASS, UNSC, PREL, PHUM, ZA
SUBJECT: UNAMIR MANDATE REVIEW: ZAMBIAN ANALYSIS OF
RWANDA SITUATION AND VERSION OF KIBEHO INCIDENT

REFS: A) LUSAKA 3339 (NOTAL), B) STATE 105037 (NOTAL)

1. CONFIDENTIAL - ENTIRE TEXT.

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2. SUMMARY: CHARGE MET MAY 19 WITH ZAMBIAN MFA AND MOD
OFFICIALS TO FOLLOW UP ON REF (A) DISCUSSION OF ZAMBIAN
VIEWS ON RWANDA AND UNAMIR. REPORT ON MEETING WILL BE
SENT SEPTTEL. FOLLOWING IS FULL TEXT OF AN APPARENTLY
COORDINATED (MFA/MOD) ANALYSIS OF THE SITUATION IN
RWANDA, INCLUDING THE ZAMBIAN VERSION OF THE 18 APRIL
INCIDENT AT KIBEHO. JUST PRIOR TO CHARGE'S MEETING,
ZAMBIA ARMY COMMANDER LTG NOBBY SIMBEYE REVIEWED AND
APPARENTLY MADE SOME CHANGES TO THIS DOCUMENT.

3. QUOTE:

ASSESSMENT REPORT ON RWANDA AS AT 15 MAY 1995

INTRODUCTION

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THE POLITICAL AND SECURITY SITUATION IN RWANDA CONTINUES TO DETERIORATE BY THE DAY. THE WORKING RELATIONS BETWEEN THE KEY PLAYERS IN THE RECONCILIATION PROGRAMME, NAMELY THE UNITED NATIONS ASSISTANCE MISSION IN RWANDA (UNAMIR), UNITED NATIONS AGENCIES, NON GOVERNMENTAL ORGANISATIONS (NGOS), AND THE RWANDA GOVERNMENT CONTINUES TO STRAIN EVERY DAY. WHILE THE UNITED NATIONS IS TRYING TO PUT IN PLACE A CONDUCIVE ATMOSPHERE FOR HUMANITARIAN ACTIVITIES TO TAKE PLACE IN RWANDA, THE TUTSI DOMINATED GOVERNMENT IS ON THE OTHER HAND BUSY ACCUSING UNAMIR OF EXACERBATING PROBLEMS RATHER THAN SOLVING THEM. SOME HARDLINERS IN RWANDA'S GOVERNMENT ARE ADVOCATING THE COMPLETE WITHDRAWAL FROM RWANDA OF ALL UNAMIR PERSONNEL BY THE END OF JUNE 1995, WHEN THE
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UN MANDATE FOR RWANDA COMES FOR REVIEW.

THE BIGGEST ISSUE AT HAND IS THE HANDLING OF INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSONS (IDPS) IN VARIOUS CAMPS LOCATED ALL OVER THE COUNTRY, PARTICULARLY THOSE IN THE SOUTHWESTERN PART OF RWANDA. IT IS BELIEVED AND WIDELY ACCEPTED BY ALL KEY PLAYERS IN THE RWANDA RECONCILIATION PROCESS THAT IDP CAMPS ARE ACCOMMODATING ELEMENTS OF THE FORMER RWANDA GOVERNMENT PERSONNEL WHO COMMITTED GENOCIDE AGAINST THE TUTSI TRIBE LAST YEAR (1994) AND OTHER ORDINARY HARDLINE TRIBALIST HUTUS AS WELL AS INNOCENT PEOPLE WHO SIMPLY FEAR FOR THEIR LIVES OUTSIDE THOSE CAMPS. THERE ARE ALSO THOSE PEOPLE IN IDP CAMPS WHO ARE BEING FORCED TO REMAIN THERE THROUGH THREATS BY HARDLINERS BUT WOULD LIKE TO RETURN TO THEIR HOMES.

THE TUTSI DOMINATED RWANDA PATRIOTIC FRONT GOVERNMENT (RPF) AND THE EXTREMIST TUTSI TRIBESMEN ARE INCENSED WITH A BURNING DESIRE FOR REVENGE AGAINST THE HUTUS AND THEY KNOW THAT THIS VENGEANCE CAN ONLY BE CARRIED OUT IF THESE CAMPS ARE CLOSED AND THEIR OCCUPANTS SENT AWAY TO THEIR HOMES. IT WOULD THEN BE POSSIBLE TO IDENTIFY, PUT ON "TRIAL" AND PUNISH THE CULPRITS. THEY VIEW THE CONTINUED MAINTENANCE OF IDP CAMPS BY UNAMIR AND OTHER UN AGENCIES AS A DELIBERATE ATTEMPT TO SHIELD CRIMINALS HIDING IN THOSE CAMPS.

MUTUAL MEASURES FOR IDP CAMPS

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IN SEEKING A COMMON APPROACH TO THE PROBLEMS FACING
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THEM, UNAMIR CONVENED A MEETING IN KIGALI IN EARLY APRIL
1995, AT WHICH IT WAS AGREED THAT:

A. THE SUPPLY OF FOOD TO CAMPS BE REDUCED SO THAT
PEOPLE ARE ENCOURAGED TO RETURN TO THEIR HOMES. IT WAS
AGREED THAT HAVING FEWER OR NO PEOPLE IN CAMPS WOULD
SAVE UN RESOURCES FOR USE IN OTHER PRIORITY AREAS AND
WOULD ALSO BE IN THE INTEREST OF RWANDA'S NATIONAL
SECURITY.

B. INTERNALLY DISPLACED PERSON CAMPS BE CLOSED IN
SERIES (ONE AFTER ANOTHER) STARTING WITH THE MOST
PROBLEMATIC ONES, KIBEHO, MANNED BY ZAMBIAN TROOPS, AND
NGADO. IT WAS AGREED THAT THE CLOSURE WOULD BE PRECEDED
BY AN EXTENSIVE INFORMATION CAMPAIGN, TELLING THE IDPS
ABOUT WHAT ALTERNATIVE ARRANGEMENTS HAD BEEN MADE FOR
THEM AND ADVANTAGES OF GOING TO THEIR OWN VILLAGES,
INCLUDING PERSONAL SAFETY ARRANGEMENTS.

C. ALL MEASURES TO BE TAKEN IN CLOSING IDP CAMPS WERE
TO BE DONE WITH THE PARTICIPATION OF ALL KEY PLAYERS
REPRESENTED AT THAT MEETING AND THAT LIAISON WAS TO BE
MAINTAINED.

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IT WAS THE BELIEF BY ALL CONCERNED PARTIES THAT THE
MEASURES MUTUALLY AGREED UPON WOULD LEAD TO A DECREASE
IN CAMP POPULATIONS, LEADING TO THEIR EVENTUAL CLOSURE,
THEREBY SATISFYING THE CONCERNS OF THE GOVERNMENT

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REGARDING NATIONAL SECURITY. IT WAS ALSO THOUGHT THAT
PEOPLE WHO WERE BEING FORCED TO REMAIN IN CAMPS BY
HARD-CORE ELEMENTS WOULD BE GIVEN A CHANCE TO LEAVE
CAMPS AND RETURN TO THEIR HOMES ACCORDING TO THEIR
WISHES.

KIBEHO CAMP MASSACRE

ON 18 APRIL 1995, AT APPROXIMATELY 0300 HOURS, THE
RWANDA PATRIOTIC ARMY (RPA) WITHOUT INFORMING OTHER
INTERESTED PARTIES CORDONED OFF KIBEHO CAMP AND TRIED TO
CONDUCT A SEARCH OPERATION. WHEN THE CAMP POPULATION
SAW THIS DEPLOYMENT, THEY PANICKED AND RAN TOWARDS THE
ZAMBIAN TROOPS WHO WERE LOOKING AFTER THE CAMP,
STAMPEDING AND KILLING EACH OTHER IN THE PROCESS. ON
SEEING THAT THEIR OPERATION WAS NOT GOING AS PER PLAN,
THE RPA ARMED THEMSELVES WITH HEAVIER WEAPONS AND
GRENADES AND ATTACKED THE DISPLACED PERSONS, KILLING
OVER FIVE THOUSAND (5,000) OF THEM. BY THE END OF THE
SECOND DAY, THE SITUATION IN KIBEHO CAMP WAS COMPLETELY
OUT OF RPA'S CONTROL. SEEING THIS SITUATION, THE RPA
THEN TRIED TO SEEK FOR ASSISTANCE FROM UNAMIR, UN
AGENCIES, AND NGOS. THE LAST TWO GROUPS REFUSED TO
OFFER ANY ASSISTANCE UNTIL PERSONALLY PERSUADED BY THE
DEPUTY FORCE COMMANDER, BRIGADIER ANYOHODO.

THE BODY COUNT AND REPORTING BY UNAMIR OF IDPS KILLED IN
KIBEHO CAMP HAS CAUSED A BIG RIFT BETWEEN THE RPF
GOVERNMENT AND THE UNITED NATIONS, PARTICULARLY THE
ZAMBIAN CONTINGENT. WHILE THE GOVERNMENT IS TRYING TO
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PLAY DOWN THE DEATH TOLL TO ABOUT THREE HUNDRED (300),
UNAMIR REPORTED OVER FIVE THOUSAND IDPS KILLED. THIS
CONTRAST HAS MADE THE RPF GOVERNMENT EXTREMELY ANGRY
WITH UNAMIR AND THE ZAMBIAN CONTINGENT IN PARTICULAR.
THEY CLAIM TO SAY THAT THE CASUALTY FIGURE RELEASED BY
THE UN IS FALSE AND MALICIOUS. MEANWHILE, THE
GOVERNMENT IS BUSY EXHUMING AND DESTROYING BODIES EVERY
NIGHT SO THAT THEY CAN DECEIVE ANY INTERNATIONAL INQUIRY
THAT MAY BE CONVENED INTO THE MASSACRE.

SECURITY THREATS TO DIPLOMATS

UNCONFIRMED REPORTS INDICATE THAT RPF PERSONNEL ARE IN
THE TANZANIAN CAPITAL DAR ES SALAAM TO ABDUCT ZAMBIAN,
KENYAN AND SUDANESE DIPLOMATS. THIS INFORMATION SAYS
THAT RWANDA WOULD LIKE TO ABDUCT ZAMBIAN DIPLOMATS
BECAUSE ZAMBIAN TROOPS CONTRADICTED THE OFFICIAL
GOVERNMENT CASUALTY FIGURES IN THE KIBEHO CAMP
MASSACRE. THE INFORMATION FURTHER SAYS THAT THEY WOULD
LIKE TO ABDUCT KENYAN DIPLOMATS BECAUSE OF KENYAN
GOVERNMENT SUPPORT TO THE FORMER RWANDAN GOVERNMENT
OFFICIALS, WHILE THE SUDANESE DIPLOMATS ARE TO BE
ABDUCTED FOR SUDANESE AGGRESSION AGAINST UGANDA WHICH
HAS BEEN A TUTSI SANCTUARY FOR MANY YEARS.

COMMENT

IT IS OUR OPINION THAT THE PROBLEMS IN RWANDA ARE BEING
PERPETUATED BY EXTREMIST TUTSI POLITICIANS POSSESSED
WITH A BURNING DESIRE TO AVENGE THE GENOCIDE UNLEASHED
ON THEM BY THE HUTUS LAST YEAR, 1994. IT IS CLEAR TO
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THE EXTREMISTS THAT THEY CANNOT EXECUTE THEIR VENGEANCE
ON THE HUTUS IN THE PRESENCE OF UNAMIR, HENCE THEIR
TIRELESS EFFORTS TO GET UNAMIR OUT OF THE WAY BY
CONDUCTING A SMEAR CAMPAIGN. THE EXTREMISTS, WHO
INCLUDE PEOPLE IN SENIOR GOVERNMENT POSITIONS ARE
AGITATING THE PUBLIC TO CARRY OUT DEMONSTRATIONS AGAINST
UNAMIR AND INSTRUCTING THEM TO STONE ANY UNAMIR VEHICLE
FOUND IN THEIR COMPOUNDS. THE RPA HAVE ALSO EMBARKED ON
A CAMPAIGN OF ROBBING VEHICLES FROM UNAMIR AND UN
AGENCIES. OVER ONE HUNDRED (100) VEHICLES HAVE SO FAR
BEEN STOLEN AND MORE THEFTS ARE BEING CARRIED OUT
DAILY.

THE ZAMBIAN CONTINGENT IN WHOSE AREA OF RESPONSIBILITY

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THE KIBEHO MASSACRE TOOK PLACE CAN ONLY BE PRAISED FOR CONDUCTING THEMSELVES PROFESSIONALLY. THEY PORTRAYED TRUE COMMITMENT TO THEIR PEACEKEEPING ROLE DURING THE CRISIS. THEY RESISTED THE TEMPTATION TO BE DRAWN INTO A FIREFIGHT WITH INDISCIPLINED RPA, AN ACT WHICH COULD HAVE COMPLICATED THE SITUATION AND CAUSED MANY MORE DEATHS THAN OCCURRED. THE CONTINGENT SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED TO MAINTAIN THEIR LEVEL HEADEDNESS IN THIS OPERATION. ZAMBIAN DIPLOMATS SERVING IN MISSIONS NEIGHBOURING RWANDA AND BURUNDI CAN BEST BE INFORMED TO

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MAINTAIN MAXIMUM ALERTNESS DURING THIS CRISIS PERIOD TO
AVERT BEING KIDNAP VICTIMS. WITH THE FLUID AND UNSTABLE
SITUATION IN RWANDA, ZAMBIA SHOULD MAINTAIN A CLOSE
WATCH OVER THE EVENTS IN THE COUNTRY TO BE ABLE TO TAKE
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TIMELY ACTIONS IN ZAMBIA'S OWN NATIONAL INTEREST.

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ASSESSMENT OF STRAINED RELATIONS

THE FOLLOWING IS THE ASSESSMENT ON THE STRAINED RELATIONS BETWEEN UNAMIR AND THE RWANDA PATRIOTIC FRONT (RPF) GOVERNMENT.

A. THE CURRENT MANDATE OF UNAMIR, WHICH IS ONLY HUMANITARIAN, IS MEANINGLESS TAKING INTO ACCOUNT THE CURRENT POLITICAL AND MILITARY SITUATION IN RWANDA.

B. THE UN TROOPS PULLED OUT OF RWANDA IN 1994 AT THE TIME THEY WERE MOST NEEDED TO AVOID THE GENOCIDE. THE UN TROOPS CAME BACK TO RWANDA AS UNAMIR AFTER THE MASSACRES OF THE TUTSI AND OTHER HARDLINE TRIBALIST HUTUS AS WELL AS INNOCENT PEOPLE.

C. UNAMIR HAS ALWAYS BEEN REPORTING FACTS ABOUT MASSACRES OF THE HUTUS AND OTHER INNOCENT PEOPLE WHILE THE RPF GOVERNMENT HAS BEEN CONCEALING OR DOWNPLAYING THE ACTUAL FIGURES OF THOSE MASSACRE VICTIMS.

D. THERE IS A DIFFERENCE IN THE STANDARD OF LIVING BETWEEN UNAMIR PERSONNEL AND THE LOCAL RWANDESE WHO LIVE IN ABJECT POVERTY. RWANDESE PEOPLE ARE TENDING TO THINK THAT THE PROPERTY OWNED BY UNAMIR IS THEIR PROPERTY SINCE IT WAS TAKEN TO THEIR COUNTRY.

E. THE TRIAL OF GENOCIDE CULPRITS IS BEING MANIPULATED BY THE RPF GOVERNMENT TO HARASS AND CONVICT INNOCENT
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HUTUS.

RECOMMENDATION

THE DEPARTURE OF UNAMIR FROM RWANDA WILL NOT BE THE BEST SOLUTION AT THE MOMENT FOR THE RWANDAN PEOPLE BECAUSE OF THE DEEP ROOTED HATRED BETWEEN THE TUTSI AND HUTUS. CONTINUED PRESENCE OF UNAMIR WILL SCALE DOWN THE MASSACRES OF INNOCENT PEOPLE IN RWANDA. THE FOLLOWING SHOULD THEREFORE BE CONSIDERED:

A. EXTENSION OF THE MANDATE WITH WIDER PEACEKEEPING TASKS WHICH SHOULD INCLUDE:

1. UN MILITARY CONTROL OVER THE LOCAL MILITARY (GOVERNMENT TROOPS).

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2. POLITICAL SOLUTION BY NEGOTIATION, MEDIATION AND CONCILIATION BETWEEN THE WARRING PARTIES. THIS TO INCLUDE REPRESENTATION FROM BOTH TRIBES IN FORMING A FUTURE GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY.

B. THE POLITICAL SOLUTION IN SUB-PARA (2) SHOULD BE IN LINE WITH THE ARUSHA AGREEMENT, WHICH CALLS FOR RECONCILIATION AND FORMATION OF A BROAD-BASED GOVERNMENT NATIONAL UNITY.

CONCLUSION

THE CRISIS IN RWANDA IS UNIQUE AND DEEP ROOTED. ITS OVERALL SOLUTION LIES IN A LONG TERM, WELL PLANNED AND
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COORDINATED PROGRAMME WHICH MUST INVOLVE THE RWANDAN PEOPLE AS THE MAIN ACTORS. THE PROGRAMME MUST AIM AT WINNING THE HEARTS AND MINDS OF ALL THE RWANDAN PEOPLE WITHOUT DISCRIMINATION. AS THE PROBLEM IN RWANDA IS DEEP ROOTED AND HAS TAKEN A VERY LONG TIME, THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND THE UNITED NATIONS IN PARTICULAR SHOULD BE PREPARED TO TAKE AN EQUALLY LONG PERIOD OF TIME TO ACHIEVE RESULTS. THIS WILL CALL FOR A LOT OF SACRIFICE AND PATIENCE FROM ALL THOSE INTERESTED IN RESOLVING THIS PROBLEM.

RWANDA IS AN AFRICAN COUNTRY AND WITHIN ZAMBIA'S REACH, AND EVENTS TAKING PLACE THERE HAVE, IN ONE WAY OR ANOTHER, GOT AN EFFECT ON ZAMBIA. IT IS THEREFORE IMPERATIVE THAT ZAMBIA SHOULD CONTINUE TO PLAY HER ROLE IN TRYING TO RESOLVE THIS VEXING PROBLEM IN RWANDA. IT IS ONLY THROUGH COMMITTED PARTICIPATION, SACRIFICE AND PATIENCE THAT PROBLEMS OF THIS NATURE CAN BE RESOLVED TO MAKE OUR REGION AND AFRICA A BETTER PLACE TO LIVE.

END QUOTE
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